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"They rub iron pyrites with flint and catch the sparks in a dry, moss-like substance." Usually the grain of pyrite is somewhat larger than the flint, and the two together are regarded as a loving couple, mitúku; hence, the former is the male, wa, while the latter is the female, kipa (52). The spark is caught in a loose

52. Speaking of the flint, Hyades (q) :304 and (d) :309 erroneously maintains that "the Fuegians usually obtain fire by striking two of these stones, unequal in size, against each other" /translated from French/. We read the same thing in Bridges (i):10 and in Spegazzini (a):163. Dabbene (b):194 writes: "Fire is obtained by striking two pieces of stone, which contain iron pyrites, against one another" /translated from Spanish/. This procedure would not bring results, as everyone knows. Compare Colini: 238.

bundle of down, túnku. They /393/ prefer to use a puffball as tinder, bíkan, the dry spores of which very easily begin to smolder (53). They also use cúsi, fine shavings of barberry stems.

53. "The tinder used is the inner down of birds, well dried: very fine dry moss; or a dry kind of fungus found on the under side of half-rotten trees," according to Fitz-Roy (a) :187 /cited in English/.

By gently blowing, they get the smoldering parts to flare up, immediately add feathers or fine lichen, and finally twigs and branches. Before that they place the puffball on a small piece of leather or on gravel so that it does not become damp. The man bends over very low and holds the stones very close. Usually he must work for some time, because the objects are damp, because of the humidity in the air, or because the sparks simply will not catch.

In former times the adults, usually man and wife, carried a small leather pouch, asúnu, in which the tinder and the two

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only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Yamana; the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (4):302 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind: shipwreck of five canoes, 33 persons drowned; shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (1):15 expresses it "venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative strangeness" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In most recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness [p 73] destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

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Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district; every dialect group has one (p. 199 /untranslated/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large urine seal, tšo'ɔ'a (Arctocephalus australis), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Ildefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramírez Islands. They are [p 29] guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

[147] Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwulup. For example, Bridges (1):15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cuchawulaf who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound; this distance is considerably over two /###/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Fuegians can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the most diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensable fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

/1155 cont./

773 began to melt, there was so much water that the earth became completely flooded. That woman planned to destroy the whole world and all the people. The ice came just at the time of the universal upheaval in Yáaaĭága, when the men were carrying on their battle with the women and gained control of the kĭna. -- In this connection see Lĕxuwakĭpa wătuwa on page 1232 /untranslated/.

"After the ice period the whole earth became flooded. The tremendous amount of water rose constantly and quickly. Everybody hastened to the canoes and sat down in them; they all wanted to save themselves. The water rose higher and higher; it even reached the mountain tops and covered one after the other. Finally there were only five peaks that rose above the great flood. The tremendous inundation came extraordinarily quickly and there were high waves so that the people could not provide themselves with food. Many of them did not even reach their canoes and almost all the human beings drowned in the huge flood. The distress everywhere was indescribable. There was no hope for the ones who could not flee in their canoes in time and hold out in some protected spot.

773 "The fortunate people were those who in their canoes reached one of the five mountain tops which rose up out of the • 823 water. There they found safety. Those mountain peaks are [1] Usĭláka in what is now Packsaddle Bay on the Hardy Peninsula. High up one can still see broad bands which indicate how high the great flood reached. [2] Wémarĭwaja opposite O'Brien Island, where one sees a /1156/ cut reaching all around the rock. It was made when many canoes were tied up there, but almost all nevertheless perished. [3] Auwáratulĕra in a hidden corner of Estero Ponsonby. At this place there is still a thick pole to which several canoes were fastened at that time. This pole has turned to stone, for it has been there a very long time. [4] Wĕlalănux on Gable Island. There the high peak formerly rose still higher. It has become considerably lower because strong waves are constantly pounding it. [5] Pjatulĕra, two steep eminences on either side of the mouth of the Rio Douglas. Today they are no longer as high as at the time when the great flood covered all the land.

/1304 cont./

uttering a loud, hissing ī sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kēpif of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the ōlika (p. 503). The parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, lēxuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they did not do this, lēxuwa would pull their breasts far down; this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This lēxuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent and respectful. If they do not do this, the pīiakakīpa, as it is called, causes strong eddies. The word pīiaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has in special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pīiakakīpa sees everything that happens around it."

If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watauinēiwa.

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264 821 487 When one fails to observe this rule, his child will scream just as incessantly as did the child of Yoglon (p. 1140). Moreover, other people say that his canoe will run into bad weather. Spencer:87 writes: "When crossing one of the Sounds, a man will paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman's face. This is supposed to ensure a fairweather crossing" /cited in English/. I did not learn anything about this from my informants, but I did hear that bad weather will set in immediately if someone pulls out tall reeds in a lagoon.

823 Moreover, the Yamana are still imprisoned in a realm of superstitious notions about so-called baleful places. These are first of all the places that the Lakúma like to inhabit. No one should venture there in his canoe or gather mussels there. Besides the Lakúma and the malevolent Haucélla, certain animals who are in contact with the yékamuš make a place dangerous for human beings. Friendly, well-meaning yékamuš warn people about these places, for they know from their dreams what the situation is and the danger a person can get into on that account. A person who unwittingly enters such a zone suddenly feels unwell; he becomes utterly weak and immediately falls asleep. /1310/ He is lost if a yékamuš is not called in time to free him from the pernicious influence of this baleful place. On March 21, 1923, Whaim told the following story. "In Lapachja there is a fatal spot where even the fish are not spared. Once several men had set a net there. It was quickly filled with fish and the men began hauling it in. When they were near the shore with the heavy net, a strong force pulled out all the fish and the men stared astonished at the empty net." Earlier Bridges reported: "A certain Sisanianjix had made up his mind to settle out at a beautiful place some three miles from Ushuaia. Accordingly he went there with his wife and family, and one or two friends. These built a wigwam and had plenty of wood and water close at hand. But late in the afternoon they heard a strange voice or cry, whether from owl, hawk, bird, beast, or evil spirit they knew not and were too much frightened to go and ascertain, saying sapiccoosh, sapiccoosh, which means bloody arrow head. They forthwith packed up and hastened back to Ushuaia from the fatal spot" /cited in English/ (MM.XIII, 80; 1879).

/1211 cont./

There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This man turned to stone there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:82 writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Hoste Island behind the tall snow peak on Dumas Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /cited in English/. It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Punta Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:82 is vague: "There is a special cove on Tekenika Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Yahgan dare stay there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /cited in English/. In the Yamana language there are several expressions which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (h):240, BD:42 gives, for example, inauwilus, "successful in hunting" /cited in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be afraid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 95 appears here./

/1212/ E. The Kina Celebration

The great significance of the youth initiation for the permanence of the social order of our Foreigns is outwardly expressed by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without exception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the Kinaya is obviously a continuance of parental rearing beyond the narrow confines of the family hut, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of their initiation, the individual candidates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a family (p. 842). Later on, the knowledge that they have obtained

/1451 cont./

phases. Thus, hámusa tajúgata is the full moon; aiuxíŕra, the completely invisible new moon; yérum hámusa, the waxing moon; and, finally, hámusa héjiu, the waning moon. The word héjiu is probably the same as haiŕ, "another, the other" /cited in English/, in SD:262. There are also other designations in SD for the phases of the moon. The Yamana like to measure time by the whole course of the moon. For example, someone will say: "Yérum hámusa iótja-mus har-t-hajúŕa, I shall come again at the new moon" (357).

357. Hyades (p):340 and Spegazzini (s):169 also briefly referred to the various designations of time used by the Yamana.

As a result of their nomadic life, our Yamana are obliged to observe carefully the extremely changeable weather of their country and to interpret reliably every peculiar phenomenon. In the course of long experience they have attained positive mastery in this, and one can absolutely rely on their opinion. In their observations they usually take two or three phenomena into account at once, not least the behavior of animals. Nevertheless, a family will sometimes be overtaken by a sudden change in the weather and their lives endangered. The Yamana certainly do not lack expressions for individual aspects of the weather. Thunder, kíkika, is almost never heard in that region; our Foegians have no definite explanation for it or for lightning (p. 21 /untranslated/) which is just as rare.

4. Geographical Knowledge

On their constant trips through the tortuous channels of the Cape Horn Archipelago our Yamana are confidently sure of themselves because they have a well developed sense of orientation to the quarters of the heavens. They have a wide choice of terms for them. /1452/ The basic terms are: lín, lía, "the south, southward"; lín lía, "east, in an easterly direction";

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823 ïŋga, "northerly, the north"; finally ínu, "in a westerly direction, the west." These root terms serve for all kinds of constructions. Instead of listing them, I refer the reader to BD. They are used very often, not only to describe the distribution of the large ethnic groups, but also to designate the directions of air and water currents, of swarms of birds and fish, or of a journey on foot or in a canoe. Accordingly, they say: ítulum-ăala, "people of the east." A more complete form of this is ítulum-dăulum-ăala. The word dăulum or dăualum means "from this place, from yonder." In contrast, there is ítalum-húša, "the east wind." It can be stated as a rule that an expression for a motion or an activity of motion at the same time indicates the particular direction. This kind of accuracy, which, as such, is still no proof of the richness of the language, may seem to us exaggerated, but it is valuable and sometimes of vital necessity to a nomadic Fuegian. An example may make this clear. If I am standing to the north and at some distance from a channel, looking south, I call the north coast of this channel kutágutekaiyúša, but its southern coast ílakupe-hăuanči-yúša. Using this latter formation, the Yamana says ílakupe-ašága, namely, a channel extending south of me, or, "ïŋgakupe-ašága," a channel which runs from my position to the north. As may be seen from these examples, the relationship of one thing to another in space is specifically designated. This is usually done with reference merely to the quarters of the heavens; often the vertical relation of a thing in space is expressed together with its horizontal relation, that is, according to the quarters of the heavens (358).

358. Bridges (h):206 several times confirmed the strikingly frequent use of designations for directions. Compare Furlong (r):171, Hyades (q):281, Lovisato (b):151.

103 Even more surprising is the almost unbelievably large number of place names. Coasts that are more frequently visited and sought out by individual families, above all those along Beagle Channel and Angostura Murray, have their own names which characterize very short distances or only one spot, a small projection or a rather large stone, a shallow or deep bend, a steep or

/1453 cont./

823 They are aided by a no less reliable and very accurate knowledge of places which they acquire by their frequent visits to each locality. Their memory of places is refreshed every time they take a canoe trip or stay anywhere. Thus one thing explains the other. Actually, the region comprising their native land, which every family constantly traverses, is not very extensive. They go beyond these boundaries only on special occasions and then they let themselves be guided by a family native to that region. Moreover, thanks to the excellent gift for observation with which our Fuegians are equipped, old and young really know every nook and rock, every inlet and coast, every brook and beach. The story of the origin of the many wide and narrow, quite irregular channels that make the whole Cape Horn Archipelago look like a land savagely torn to pieces is told in the tale about the Lašawáia rock (p. 1216 /untranslated/); the origin of the little brooks running down from the hills and mountains is explained in the Čilawáia-wátuwa (p. 1207 /untranslated/); legend even tells about the origin of the magnificent glaciers, known as dáun, in Brazo Nordoeste (p. 1233 /untranslated/).

805 823 Contrasted with this wealth of place names, the lack of designations expressing distances, intervals, and time is all the more striking. They usually refer to the position of the sun or the stars in order to determine the approximate time of day or night. Such estimates, of course, leave a wide margin of uncertainty which disturbs the Fuegian not at all. On his journeys and canoe trips he is, in any case, dependent on the quite unpredictable influences /1454/ of natural forces. He never knows beforehand how they will affect him. Those unbridled natural forces to which he is exposed are stronger than he; hence it would be senseless to set a goal to be reached in a short time under any circumstance. If our Fuegian wishes to designate a great distance, he speaks of two or three or many travel-days and estimates from six to eight hours for a single day of the journey. He does not lose or gain anything worth mentioning whether he reaches his goal sooner or later. In a most literal sense, no hour strikes to mar a person's happiness down there in the Cape Horn Archipelago!